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*[171] 302 the body, with which we shall soon occupy ourselves in greater detail, the removal of hair is extremely advisable, because the latter absorbs the color which is supposed to be rubbed into the skin lying under it. Anyone who wants to paint a hide shaves it first. One main purpose of painting, the killing of insects, would otherwise not be achieved. Furthermore, a very natural explanation for the removal of pubic hair is found in the conflict between it and the devices used here at the very time when it appears. In particular manipulations with the hip cord among the men would definitely be impeded. In short, a person who removes the hair is better off and yet misses nothing. This alone is sufficient to justify the custom. Plucking, clipping, and shaving are only a question of thoroughness or technical means or consideration for personal sensitivity. Less attention is given to the comb; they would sooner cut and pluck their hair than use a comb.

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/178/ Strangest of all, and certainly no pastime, is the plucking of the lashes, because this operation, as one may call it, is performed quite generally, even on small children of both sexes, and cannot be explained on the basis of tribal or sex differences.*

[BC] [155]

*In the case of primitive peoples one far too often attributes a thing to their desire for physical hardening, but I never saw children being hardened. The sir fathers, not to speak of the mothers, were inclined more to sentimentality than to strictness toward their very self-willed offspring, who could not cry without their parents being bitterly hurt as well. They were definitely caused pain only when it was believed to be for their own good, their health was always a matter of extreme concern and amulets were hung on them.

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*171 301 [128] With this the most essential constituents of the chain ornaments have probably been enumerated; in the later chapter on the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, insofar as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

●[751] I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "ornament" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as mentioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked. If the remains of a matchbox were also hung around, this, too, did not originate from a sense of beauty. The grass beads of the Bakaïrí greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained such a chain only with the greatest difficulty; in the eyes of their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those with fish beads, because they were rarer.

*171 301 Daubing and painting. Why do the Indians daub themselves with oil color, either with black, like those who are less familiar with the orlean bush, or with red, as the others prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and disfigurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this particular instance.

[822] Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary sensation of pleasure. In that case we should have to note with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians, a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the river-forest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the only question that Antonio asked me of his own initiative was the following in Cuyabá: "Why do the women wear flowers in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn oneself with gay colors was worlds removed from his way of thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed into colored ornaments; first came the pleasure in the hunt or in animal life and the boastfulness concerning the hunter's

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*171 302 822 more sparingly and could not by any means conceive why he did not use it merely to bring out the other colors better. He wears feather caps, which look most charming, of pure white with a few, small yellow-red feathers in between.

*171 302 386 The chalky, fine-grained clay is not suitable for the design-painting of the body. If it were mixed, like charcoal, with the yellowish oil, it could likewise be applied in lines, but the white color would be lost. Mixed with water, however, the lines would be very impermanent and mostly fall off when dry. On the masks, white furnishes only the background or appears in wide stripes on the most artless ones. On the other hand, if the native used his pigment for body adornment primarily for the sake of the color effect, nothing would prevent him from beautifying himself with white also, by powdering himself over large areas with the clay. Thus the thighs of the string-twisting women are chalk-white; moreover, the fine, flour-dust, with which the women who bake beijũ are often covered white, would be available to him. But neither the white baker-woman nor the Indian daubed red or black over large areas /186/ has dressed himself up this way in order to adorn himself. This is everyday clothing, not Sunday attire.

*171 302 751 The question thus is: of what use is the daubing? As is well known, and as I know very well from my long experience of going barefoot, the mud has a cooling effect; it is extremely pleasant in the heat to keep the skin moist. In particular it cools stung spots, and it protects the ones stung from the mosquitoes, whether it be red, yellow, black, or white. I cannot believe that whenever a person waded through the mud of the shore, he seemed particularly adorned because of it; it may be different on other soil, where the earth colors are more unusual. In our territory, at any rate, the agreeableness for the skin takes precedence over that for the eye. The Indian has replaced the mud with oil, but a finely powdered addition is said to make it more consistent and sticky, and this addition is a [822] pigment, soot and urucũ red. Undoubtedly the Bakaïrí like the red better, since they did not have to tend and cultivate the plant if the soot were just as pretty, and within these limits one adorns himself also by daubing himself.

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*171 302 751 one adorns himself also by daubing himself. The native daubs himself with oil paint, either black or red, in order to keep the skin agreeably soft in the heat and so that the mosquitoes and stinging flies that alight on his body stick to it and perish. He does not set out for the hunt until his loving spouse has smeared him, especially on chest and back, with oil paint; he takes with him in the canoe, as we saw in the case of our companions, the small oil-calabash, in order to renew the coating on the way, and in the morning he and his companions perform this service of love for each other. After a day of rowing, such a back is dotted with countless small black cadavers which are quickly removed by a bath in the river. Among the Mehinakú I also saw a number of women blackened with dry charcoal all over their bodies, who were busily going about their ordinary tasks and, to all appearances, had not in any way thought of dressing up. Unfortunately, however, I do not know for what purpose they had rubbed themselves and only suspect that some kind of hygienic measures were involved.

Now, I should not like to maintain that daubing and design-painting are sharply separated. It is the same as with clothing. It is worn differently for work and for festivities. If clothing were decoratively created, with better materials, brighter colors, a special cut, I should not like to conclude from that that it was fundamentally only adornment. Oil color is actually the clothing of the Indian, as he requires it: its real and oldest purpose is protection, not against cold, but against warmth, against chapping and certain kinds of external assaults. He has only one form of clothing which he can do without better than we can that of ours, which also does not have the secondary characteristic of concealing, like that of ours, and he has therefore not arrived at the feeling of modesty that we have. Just as our clothing /187/ is altered out of considerations of adornment, so his oil color and in earlier times, I imagine, his mud. Just as some people more than others are affected even in their everyday clothing, by the consideration of a more attractive outward appearance, so also does an Indian fop, like

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*171 302 ● 751 the Bakaïrí Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear design. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the [822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between red and black, and since they have disproportionately more [192] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking and encouraged the custom; I shall cite a specific and very common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest, the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

*171 302 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs, dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs, and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining [619] or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

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/195 cont./ naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

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If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.

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More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

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Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

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*171 29 136 951 On the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans extremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites, in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful inflammed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind. The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the little animal, tortured by the heat, will voluntarily give up its abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful. I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians enjoy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, increeping insects can in like manner afflict the South American forest dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word. Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea. The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by customarily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit down flat during the scraping of mandioca roots and similar occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened together as an underlayer, even when they are in the house, which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

*171 136 352 516 951

B /196 cont./ their domestic tasks
*171 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men,
136 and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the
516 next page /see p. 192 / a group of Bakaïrí from the second village
751 shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

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*171 In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous
291 membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would
136 probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say,
751 the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,

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*171 cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indis-
291 pensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig.
83 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not
751 have been removed more often, especially at night in the hammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

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*171 In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty.
291 Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian
84 thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous
T medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among
171 most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions,
291 and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly re-
84 moved the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

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535 126 [531] Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 126 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tóju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 532 751 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 194 177 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards, probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

Y 302 105 171 During the trip, at various times, a number of men were seen that were covered completely with soot. However, it could not be ascertained for what reason this was done. By my Bakairi, several explanations were given: that the man had been working in clearing the fields, or that he had partaken in some ceremony and the soot had not as yet worn off, or that he had put it on for caprice.

The women often covered the forehead and the face down to the cheekbones with a thick layer of urucum. The children also were often so painted. This seemed to be purely for aesthetic reasons. The men never did it, and it was practiced more often by the young women. It was evidently done with a great deal of pride and pleasure, the mothers finding especial delight in painting the children in that manner every morning.

B 302 751 177 One of my Bakairi, whose original home had been on the Rio Novo, one morning appeared with the identical facial painting, but instead of using urucum, he had used soot. On my inquiring about it, he said he had done it to protect his eyes from the glare, but on being pressed he gave me the impression that there were other reasons. The anxiety of the Bakairi to appear devoid of practices which are not European undoubtedly prevented getting the real reason. Soon after our conversation he wiped it off.

W 302 532 304 The Mehinaku and Yawalapiti women bore three painted parallel lines on the wrists, on the forearm, and on the cheek. One of them was actually tattooed in this manner. One Mehinaku living with the Naravute bore painted geometric designs on the legs, too indistinct, however, to reproduce.

Y 302 105 171 There is no doubt that body painting for decoration is practiced widely and whenever the mood comes upon the woman. In the case of the men, they bear no painting other than the ordinary urucum protective coating except when they take part in some ceremony. The paint is not washed off afterwards, but remains on the body until it wears off.

The universal style of wearing the hair among the men is to cut it evenly around the head, following a line a little above the eyebrows. In addition, the crown is shaven. This latter practice, like the wearing of the waistband, is abandoned by the old men sometimes.

The women cut the hair across the forehead, but let the rest grow long and wear it loose.